COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

Vol. 44.-No. 3.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1822. [Price 6d.

Published every Saturday Morning, at Six o' Clock.

TO THE

YEOMANRY CAVALRY.

On the Necessity of their coming forward to apply for a Reform of the Parliament and a Reduction of Tithes and Taxes.

" This Macqueen seems to challenge the

- " Reformers to open combat, which, I hope,
- " the Reformers will not accept, but let the
- " Bank Notes do their work, and see how
- " Macqueen will prance then."

REG. 23 Oct. 1819 .- Long Island.

Uphusband, Hants, 16 Oct. 1822.

GENTLEMEN,

The object of this Letter is, to convince you, that you will be ruined to the last man, unless you now come forward, in an open and decided manner, in order to obtain a Reform of the Parliament, because it is the taxes that are causing your ruin, and be-

cause those taxes never can be effectually reduced without a Reform in the composition, or, rather, the mode of electing, the House which imposes, and enforces the collection of, those taxes.

But, before I submit to you the reasons for your doing that which I think you ought to do, it is necessary that I show you how it is that you have hitherto been deceived; or, if not up to this moment, until, at least, very lately. For many years past you have been told that there were designing men at work to delude the labouring people; and that it was necessary for you to arm yourselves and mount your horses, to keep down the deluded labouring people. And, why were you to keep them down? What did they want to do to you or to any body

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signing and deluded men!

believe with equal firmness, was, religion! that the designing men wanted to

else? You were told, that the asserting this for more than thirty designing men were deluding years past. You were never told them to come and take away your the why or wherefore of so strange, property. This you were told so very strange, a thing. You over and over again, in speeches were never told what interest the in Parliament, in Reports made designing men could possibly have by Lords as well as by Commons, in rooting out all religion. You and by every newspaper that the were never told what these designgreater part of you ever looked ing men were to get by rooting into; till, at last, a belief of the out religion. By seizing your fact had become as firmly fixed property they might, indeed, get; in your minds as a belief that the but, what were they to get by sun ruled by day and the moon rooting out all religion? Howby night. No wonder that you ever, this you believed as well as were eager to keep down these de- the other; and, forth you came to keep down the designing knaves Another thing which you were and the deluded fools, who wished led to believe, and which you did to take away your property and

Well, Gentlemen, how do you root out all religion. This was feel now? Is your property safe? asserted, too, in speeches in Par- Has it been preserved to you? liament, in Reports of Lords and Do you still possess it; and, are Commons, and in every news- you likely to keep it? I, who paper that you could put your have been, all along, at the head hand on. Three hundred news- of the designing men; I, who papers, besides Magazines and have had laws levelled at me al-Reviews and pamphlets without most by name; I have a right number, to say nothing of Ser- now to put these questions to you. mons and Charges, have been The Government, with your assistand, what has been the result? Peel and Six-Acts were passed. Has your property been preserved served your property?

Yeomanry Cavalry. To mention " fair sex." lowers to remind their accusers of hoppers to take the shilling from a the past. At present, however, I recruiting sergeant. It is Macand religious doings of the Yeo- sword, that I have to notice, or,

ance, has prevented from being manry Cavalry in Bedfordshire, done what I wished to see done. in the year 1819; that famous Together you have kept the de- year, when the Manchester deed. signing and the deluded down; took place, and when the Bill of

On the 12th of July, in that to you? As to religion, indeed, memorable year, the Bedfordshire that that has not been taken away Yeomanry Cavalry assembled to you see clearly by the happy con- present a sword to their comtinuance of the payment of tithes; mandant, Major Potter Macqueen. but, once more, have you pre- No matter who or what this man was besides, except that it may be That I do by no means exag- observed, that he was a Member gerate when I state the grounds of Parliament. There were three upon which you came forth mount- or four other corps of other couned and armed, I have only to refer ties assembled on the occasion, to the speeches, the sermons and and a great parcel of lords and other holdings forth at the esta- baronets were present, together blishment of the several corps of with a large assemblage of the The despicable one instance of this sort may fooleries of the day would be unsuffice for this time; though I by worthy of notice, were it not that no means promise to be very ab- this show and mummery served to stemious in this respect; for the assist in wheedling the farmers time is now at hand for the design- along; just as the drum and fife ing men and their deluded fol- and ribbons serve to get the clodshall confine myself to the loyal queen's speech, upon receiving the

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tices, gaolers, judges and hangof the laws of the land?

rather those parts of it, which ap- | Here they were uttering their ply to my present subject. He principles and brandishing their told the Yeomanry, that the ser- swords. Well, then, Gentlemen, vice which he and they had un- I return to my question: how do dertaken was for the good of their you find yourselves now? You country and their fellow citizens have kept the designing men He said, that they did not bear down. You have "thwarted" arms for the terror of their neigh- them, as this Macqueen called it; bours, "except those, who, lend- but, how do you find your pro-"ing themselves to evil counsel, perty, which, as you were told, " would act in open defiance of you must mount your horses to " the laws." He said, that, even preserve from the claws of the in this case, they would avoid designing men and their deluded "unnecessary severity." What followers? The fact is, your prohe would have thought necessary perty is gone. Those who retain we do not know; but, we know some property in appearance, what was thought necessary at have none in reality. It is all Manchester in thirty-five days either gone, or condemned to go. afterwards. If there were men to And, strange indeed is your siact in open defiance of the laws, tuation: crowned with complete were there not the constables, jus- success; crowned with the glory of having kept completely down men, to punish such defiers of the those who aimed at invading your laws? Was there any rebellion property; having defeated all the on foot? Was there any thing on machinations of the designing and foot beyond the reach and grasp all the violences of the deluded; having effectually, and for ever, Here we have a specimen of crushed all the schemes to take these organizations. Here we see away your property; being in this them with all their ceremonials. happy and glorious state, your you; and the very outside extent property is gone. in old times, when there were no corps of Yeomanry Cavalry and no Major Macqueens.

joy with me, that you suffer; but, I must rejoice that my own predictions are fulfilled. Besides, it is necessary for the general and permanent good of the country, that they should be fulfilled. Macqueen called on you to arm for the good of your country; to arm against the designing and deluded. I, who was one of the designing, said, at the time, "I " shall see the day, when these "Yeomanry will look back with " shame on this foolery." That day is now come; or those men must be dead to all feelings of

property is gone clean away from | by a fiftieth part of them. Your You begin of what you have left is a suffi- pretty generally to perceive someciency of farming stock and thing of this; but, still, you have household goods to enable you (if not yet thought of the worst that your rents were sufficiently re- is to come. In general, you are duced) to trudge along in smock- still in the same farm-houses; you frocks, as your grandfathers did see the same number of horses, cows and sheep about you; you are still called Mister by the labourers; and the bottom of the It is by no means a subject of abyss does not discover itself to your sight. To that bottom, however, you must come, unless a great and speedy change take place, and that change will not be effected without your own personal exertions,

As a specimen of what you have to expect, take the following advertisement from the Evangelical Magazine. " A Case of pecu-" liar Distress .- A Farmer, who " is a Dissenter, and enjoyed for " many years all the comforts of " a home, is exposed to the very " melancholy prospect of being " removed at the ensuing Michael-The extent of their suf- " mas to the parish workhouse, ferings is, as yet, not perceived " and of being obliged to subsist

" rochial relief. He once was the " or clerks for the sons. Further

"he is now about to quit for ever; "to any inquirer by A. M. Post-

"but the unprecedented change "office, Saxmundham, Suffolk."

"in the times, and the ruinous

" maids or nurserymaids for the poverty and distress; for, at the

"upon the scanty pittance of pa-|" daughters, and as apprentices

" proprietor of the estate which " particulars will be readily sent

Well, then, this man did not "depreciation of agricultural have his religion taken from him. " produce, have reduced himself, He preserved that, in spite of the " an amiable wife, and eight chil- designing men that wanted to take " dren, four of whom are daugh- it away. He preserved his pro-" ters, to the most deplorable state perty too against the designing " of poverty and distress: and it men; but, some how or other, " has lately pleased God to visit he has lost it! The "times!" "the family with a very violent What does he mean by "the and long-continued attack of times !" The year has still four "typhus fever, which has re- seasons, twelve months, fifty-two " moved one of the daughters, weeks and three hundred and " 16 years old, from the accumu- sixty-five days. What, then, does "lated sorrows which surround he mean by a change of times? "them. The object of this ap- He ascribes his downfal to the " peal, which is made without " ruinous depreciation of agri-"their knowledge, is to solicit cultural produce." Why does he "the benevolent interposition of call the prices ruinous? It is " Christians, particularly of the about as high in price as it was in " Dissenting Communion, on their 1790, and much higher than it was "behalf. Any Christian would when the late King came to the " render the most essential service throne. How, then, can this de-"to this respectable family by preciation, as he calls it, have " procuring situations as house- produced his deplorable state of

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puffed up of late years by means we, the designing and deluded, of a paper-money; taxes have should have asked him, who it was been laid on in proportion to those that made and that upheld that puffed up prices; his mode of infernal system; and, we might living has been on a scale like have asked, further, whether he that of those puffed up prices; himself, as well as the rest of his the paper-money has been sup- evangelical sect, had not been parish workhouse. he not say this, then? Why does he disguise this fact, so necessary and shuffle, and indeed lie, by blaming the times and the prices of produce? Humbled as he is, reduced to parochial allowances as he is, he has not yet been taught to be sincere.

If he had stated the real

"I have been ruined by the in-Aye, but prices have been fernal system of paper-money," planted by a gold-money; the amongst the very foremost in upprices have been brought down, holding that very system; we while the taxes and mode of living | might have reminded him, that the remained as high as ever; and chiefs of his sect, in annual conthis has, by degrees, taken away ference met, have, year after year, his estate, and is now opening for issued their slanderous manifeshis accommodation the door of the toes against those " designing This is the men," who would have saved this true state of the case. Why does very man from a workhouse. And, even now, this son of cant disguises the cause of his ruin, though to be stated, as a warning to he must see it. Let him take the others? Why does he equivocate parochial allowance, the bit of coarse bread, the feast of potatoes, the bone-soup, as the just reward of his insincerity! The banknotes have, in the words of my motto, done their work upon him; and now let him prance!

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be glad to know, is this called a | This family offers us a speci-" respectable family?" Are they men, and a pretty correct one, of persons of good morals? And what must generally take place, are not labourers' families the unless you, the Yeomanry Cavalry same? What! can the insolence come forth and petition the Parafter the supporters of it are at a designing man as I am, must be the very threshold of the work- very anxious about this. I assure house? This family is no more you, I am not. I feel none of respectable than another family of the losses and the pressure that paupers, both being alike in point you feel. In all manner of ways of morals. pear so respectable as LAZARUS. my private interest could stay my Housemaids and nurserymaids are very well, and the tax-eating tribe, to defend whom against the system to go on, until it had prodesigning men, the Yeomanry Cavalry sallied forth and the Con- every one of the present race of ference issued manifestoes, will farmers. My own private interest want a good many housemaids strictly accords with that ruin. and nurserymaids, for some of But, I have the desire to be right, the tax-eaters have offered a to be right as to this matter, from premium for breeding; but, the beginning to the end; and, "clerks;" good God! why are therefore, it is, more than from the sons of this man to be clerks? any other motive, that I endeavour There are already, perhaps, twen- to describe to you that which will ty thousand "clerks" in London befal you. alone, who, when they open their If I were to yield to feelings of eyes in the morning, know not revenge, what would now be my where they are to break their fast! delight at seeing the great farmers

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to a felon's gaol for two years, to ner and began to chop about, pay a fine of a thousand pounds cutting up the peas and all that to the King, and to be then held came in his way. The second in bonds for seven years, in three took hold of him, and seeing his thousand pounds myself, with two face bathed with tears, got, at sureties in a thousand pounds last, an account of what had been each; and my crime was express- done to a father, who had never ing my indignation at the flogging given either of them a harsh word of Englishmen under a guard of since they were born. By that very German bayonets. And, had not night's post I got a letter from my daughter 12 years old, a son 10, son, and he concluded his in these another 8, another 7, a daughter words: "I would rather be now 5, and another 3. My wife was in the place of my dear Papa, in town, my children at Botley, than in that of those who have sent and hardy fellow who had lost an well; that imprisonment would pared my daughter for the news. by saying, "be you good childen hoeing some peas. My returned to the others, and they ket, on a road by the side of him what was the matter. He a sort of picket-fence, called out pulling his hat over his eyes, took and then set up a loud laugh.

In 1810, I was sentenced up the hoe in a sort of wild man-I a wife and family? I had a daughter and one from my eldest when the sentence was passed. him to prison." I wrote them The tears of the postman, a rough back for answer, that I was very arm in the military service, pre- not hurt my health; and concluded The three boys were in the gar- dren, and we shall all have ample revenge." In a few days after daughter called the eldest to tell this, five big, brutal farmers, trothim what had been done. He ting along towards Fareham Marhearing their sister cry, asked which my carpenter was erecting could make them no answer, but, to him, "where be the iron-bars?"

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Need I say, that it gives me plea- nation to suffer, as this nation now sure to know, that every one of suffers, as a punishment for what I these unfeeling monsters has now suffered, would be horrible. Bebeen reduced to insolvency, and is, in fact, little better than a pauper; brought into that state, too, by that very paper-system, for endeavouring to check which immediate actors was a thing not in time was my real offence; for to be thought of but by a mad-GROSE, when he passed the sentence, gave it to be clearly understood, that it was for other things as well as for writing about the flogging of the local-militia men.

My son, young as he was, was right when he said, that he would rather be in my place than in that of those who had punished me. My promise to my children has

sides, all my most intimate friends are, and always have been, in that class which now suffers most. To obtain personal revenge on the The revenge, therefore, man. which I have always had in view, is that of seeing my persecutors and revilers reduced to the necessity of confessing THAT I WAS RIGHT; and this revenge I have obtained; for, if there be yet some, who will not make the confession, and, indeed, who are, at once, cut down for ever, as public men, the been made good: we have our moment they make such confesample revenge; and that, too, sion, the nation has decided for without any evil inflicted by our me; though the decision has not hands; but, through the means of yet been expressed in a manner evil inflicted by our foes on those any thing like that in which it will who ought to have been our friends, be expressed. Every day sees an but who, from folly or dastardli- addition to the convinced. I have ness, lent their support to these had the errors and prejudices of a foes, and approved, or seemed to quarter of a century to combat. approve, of their deeds. To think Much the larger portion of the of such a thing as wishing a whole active part of the community have

been bred up in these errors and see my principles and opinions prejudices. I have had to remove adopted in legislative acts. them by a process as patient as that which to count the flints in one of these fields at Uphusband would demand. The sun himself has not pursued his course with more steadiness than I have pursued my task, and if I have ever, at any time, seemed to be more zealous than at others, it has been when the difficulty and discouragement appeared to be most formidable, and when the hope of final success appeared to be most distant and faint. Of that success I am now certain; but I never was otherwise than certain of it. To stand as I stand to-day, I did not more confidently expect last week than I did on the day that the parties have been unable to I sailed out of the port of Liverpool for America. I was as sure that the thing would come as I was sure that my age would increase. it now requires but a very short now be saved from ruin: those

In the meanwhile (the five brutal farmers notwithstanding) I have left undone nothing that has been in my power to do to save you, the farming class. If you had all attended to the New Year's Gift to the Farmers, published in January 1821, there would have been few of you ruined. From first to last you have all received warning enough from me. Nothing, during a life singularly happy, has ever given me so much satisfaction as the numerous assurances that I have received of my having been the sole cause of saving people from ruin. In many, in a great many, cases, suppress an expression of their gratitude. Had my advice been followed by you all, you would all have now been safe. And it is come; and I know, that however, who are ruined, cannot space of time to hear the whole who are not, may be saved by nation declare that I am right; those exertions of their own, of and, what is a great deal more, to which I am now about to speak.

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not now believe, that the taxes of any such reduction, while the and tithes, co-operating with the Government has to pay any thing changes in the currency, are the like the present expenses is madsole cause of all the ruin that we ness. Prices of produce cannot behold, for that man I do not rise, if gold payments in full conwrite; to such a man I do not ad- tinue, and this I look upon as cerdress myself. The outcry is about tain. If the Government should low prices; but, farmers did very well and landlords did very well, solve to adventure on the sea of when prices were even lower than assignats, that would be another they are now. But, who that has case altogether; but that case I common sense can imagine, that have not now in view. Prices of as much clear can remain, when produce cannot rise; and, thereprices are the same, and when fore, land must come down to sixty millions of taxes are raised, those of 1790, or thereabouts. as when ten millions of taxes are This finishes the landlord who raised? It is, then, the taxes, and has debts or mortgage. the tithes augmented by the taxes, which have caused, which do when that is gone, the landlord cause, and which must continue gets no rent at all. Yet, while to cause, the ruin.

these to be reduced, and in such a present taxes; and, I really do degree as to leave to the farmer deem any man an unprincipled and the landlord what they forthe farmer the means of paying out a corresponding reduction of rent without loss of capital, and expenses. to the landlord a due interest on

If there be a man who does the worth of the estate? To talk give way as to this point, and remer's capital must all go; and the Government has the present The question is, then, how are expenses to pay, it must have the man, or a downright fool, who merly received; that is to say, to calls for a reduction of taxes with-

Now, mind, no reduction of

at all tend to put things to rights; and, I am convinced, that, to save the estates, the reduction must be nearer to forty than to thirty millions. The prices, on an average of years, will not exceed those of 1790; the rents cannot (when farmers' capitals are gone) exceed those of 1790; and, if the taxes be not brought down to the standard of 1790, the rents cannot be so great as those of 1790. Is not this clear as daylight? Now, the taxes in 1790, did not exceed thirteen or fourteen millions. To save the estates, therefore; to give the owners any thing like a quiet and real ownership in them, the taxes must come down to something approaching that mark.

But, how is this reduction to be made? It must be made; that is one thing; or the estates must go from the present possessors, and there must be as complete a revolution in property as ever eyes beheld. The interest of the Debt must be greatly reduced; the

taxes short of thirty millions will | tithes must, in great part, be applied by Parliament to other purposes; the crown lands must be by the same authority applied differently from what they now are; the army, as formerly, must be dispensed with; the place, pension, and sinecure list greatly reduced; the corporate property must be duly inquired into and applied by Parliament. These measures, together with some others, all to be adopted by Parliament, would enable the farmer to pay the rent that he paid in 1790, without drawing upon his capital; and would enable the landlord to keep his land, and to live as well as he lived in 1790. And, without these, or other measures, to take off from thirty to forty millions a-year of taxes, it is impossible for the landlord to receive any rent at all, after the capital of the present farmer is gone; and, an estate that yields no rent is like those estates which are sold by American land-jobbers, which are just of the same value as estates in the moon. of the landlord.

The House, then, in order to get bestir yourselves. reformed; and, upon you, upon luded long enough. Be not deyourselves, it materially depends, luded any longer. Do not believe shall come in time to save you and of Commons would reject the pethe present landlords from the titions of all the counties in Enbecause, in some shape or other, titions for reform, why will it not they must come as necessarily as make the reductions without rewhich are at work to produce petitions? Because the cases them defy all resistance. These are wholly different; and, because, causes will overcome every ob- if it were, without being first restacle; and reform and efficient formed, to attempt such reduction, reduction will come; for, the it would have a large proportion world is not going to see a ninth of the most active and vigorous wonder. PITT, who made the part of the nation opposed to the

These reductions are, therefore, Sinking Fund, was the eighth absolutely necessary to preserve wonder; but we are not going to the farmers' capital and the estate see a ninth in a nation continuing for years without land paying But, how is it to be made? any rent. Reform and reduction Why, by Act of Parliament, to must, therefore, come at last; but, be sure. But, will the Parlia- it by no means follows, that they ment, or, rather, the House of must come soon enough to save Commons, as at present consti- you and the present landlords tuted, make such a reduction? from ruin. For them to come I am satisfied, that it will not. soon enough for this you must

this reduction, must be lawfully Gentlemen, you have been dewhether such reform and reduction | those who tell you, that the House workhouse. I know, that reduc- gland. Well, then, some one will tion and reform will come at last; say, if it will not reject these pe-Christmas must come. The causes form, in consequence of county-

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tuls; and then you have all the lords in their mansions.

measure. This would be an ef-thing will be done, and those of fectual impediment. Pray for re- you who are not already ruined form and reduction; pray for the will be saved. You may stay still suffrage, the rents and the capi- in the farmhouses and your land-

industrious part, all the active For many years you have been part, all the really efficient part made to believe, that there can be of the nation with you, but, pray no reform without a revolution. for the two latter, and omit the Well, first, as to revolution. What former, and your prayer will be is the nature of revolution? What of no avail. It would be, in fact, makes it so frightful now when it opposed by the prayers of others, was once so very glorious? Howand those others, too, stronger than ever, what, after all, does revoluyourselves and the landlords along tion mean? It means a great with you as far as relates to phy- change. Well, then, are we not sical force. If I were a minister, now in the midst of a revolution? and wished to prevent the reduc- Was there ever witnessed, in any tions, of which I have spoken country in the world, a change here, nothing would please me greater than that which you have better than petitions, saying not a experienced within the last four word about reform; and coming years; and that, too, observe, not from the farmers and landlords; from the acts of us Jacobins, but for, then I should be sure to have from the acts of your own dear all the most numerous class with supporters of social order and me to oppose those petitions. our holy religion, as they impu-The House, therefore, would re- dently called themselves? Was ject your petitions for reduction a change greater than this ever alone; but, if all the counties witnessed in the world? How, meet, and if they all petition for then, can reform do more than reform as well as reduction, the this? Can it do more than bring

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Down ewe?

hideous in a revolution? Let us look a little at the thing. The King was advised to say, in his speech of July 1819, that the designing men used the word reform, but that they really aimed It is curious at revolution! enough to observe, that, in this thanked the Parliament for having passed Peel's Bill! It is curious enough, that, in this speech, in which he declared his "firm resolution" to put down those who he said aimed at revolution; it is curious enough, that, in this same speech, he should highly applaud that very measure which has made, not a pretended, but a real revolution, in all your affairs! But, let us, as I said before, look a little into this thing called a revolution.

There is nothing in the word that had some sense in it at any rate.

down a South Down ewe to 12s. | does harm. Its sound neither while all the taxes remain upon cripples us nor makes us sick nor the scale of 40s. for a South picks our pockets. What does a revolution do, then? Why, the But, again, what is there so Committees of the Parliament say, and so says Mr. Canning, that it would overturn the institutions of the country. We are not close enough to the mark yet; for, we are not agreed, perhaps, as to what are and what are not institutions of the country. Some may think, that the Debt, the Dead very same speech, the King Weight, the Seat-selling, the Standing Army in time of Peace, the Six-Acts, the Green-Bag laws, and the like, are institutions of the country. In short, there is no knowing what people mean, when they talk about institutions of the country. The Committees before-mentioned seem to have been aware, that they should not get on much by merely saying that the institutions of the country were in danger; they, therefore, told us, that property was in danger; for, that the Reformers meant What do we find it, then ! to seize even upon the lands! This

This was what we could under-Whether the assertion stand. were true, or otherwise, is another question, and one that I will not now discuss. But, supposing it to have been strictly true; and suppose the Reformers to have been let alone, do you think that they could have made a more complete seizure of property than has been made since these Committees made their Reports? Do you think it possible for the Reformers to have ruined more farmers, landlords, merchants and tradesmen than have been ruined since that time? But, the work of ruin, the work of seizing property, is not yet half done, and is, indeed, but just fairly begun. Not a head of stock, not a wagon or plough, not a table or a bed, will be left to the present race of farmers, unless they cut and run. Not an inch of land will be left to the present landlords. Every jot of property will pass away from the present possessors, and that right quickly too. Indeed it is now passing away as fast as it well can.

So that here is a real revolution; not a humbug; not a bugbear; not a thing conjured up by tax-eating knaves to frighten taxpaying fools; not a base and fraudulent invention for purposes the most mean and detestable; but a real revolution in property; and this revolution must be as complete as it could possibly be made by any positive enactments for the express purpose; unless it be put a stop to by that very reform, which has been held out as the sure forerunner of revolution, and which you have been called upon to detest and abhor as if it were a thing proposed by the devil himself!

One thing, then, is certain; namely, that reform can make your situation and prospects no worse than they are; and that is saying a good deal for any change, because when you are sure that it cannot do you any harm you cannot be afraid of it, and, there is the possibility, at any rate, tha it may do you good. You can lose no more than your all, nor can a

landlord lose more than his all. They say, and they say very Nothing can make any change of truly, that the fundholder, the importance but a reform. So that placeman, the pensioner and all common sense; bare self-preservation; the most vulgar prudence; almost mere animal instinct, call upon you to endeavour to obtain such reform; and, to obtain it, you must put yourselves in motion. You know how to ride on horseback. You have galloped and pranced about a good deal of late Take a gallop now to the county-town, and sign a petition for reform, and it will be the most sensible gallop that you ever took in your lives.

There are some farmers who think, that the landlords will do the thing themselves. They say, "it is their business, and they " will, to be sure, make an altera-

the rest, are now unjustly receiving the same sums that they received when a South Down ewe sold for 40s. But, are not the landlords, and have they not long been, doing the same? The fundholder receives three pounds where he ought to receive one; but, have not the landlords been doing the Those of them who have any sense know, indeed, that this cannot last long. But, it is not all of them that have any sense. If I were to judge from their conduct in general, I should say, that he was a poor landlord indeed whose landed possessions did not exceed his sense. Besides, they have other considerations and in-" tion." Perhaps they may, with terests that weigh with them. For the aid of the people; but, mind instance, there is Mr. Asheton this, they will neither do it nor Smith and Sir John Pellew, the attempt to do it, as long as you members for Andover, and the latcontinue to pay them rents out of ter of whom just now proclaims your capital. You seem to for- himself Chairman of the Hampget, that, as long as you pay rent, shire Pitt Club. Do you think they are gainers by your ruin that men like these will be in haste to get a reform, which, to a tax as " a boon;" but do you, dead certainty, would put them if you mean to save even a remout for ever as Members of Par- nant of your property, think noliament? Their estates! Yes, thing done, unless from thirty to yes; but, these estates are very forty millions of the taxes be taken they get their rents. So that, at the fears of the foolish. you to bear in mind.

reducing taxes; no, nor by any small reductions. Let that curious sort of a man, Mr. John Chris- should there be? Not half so peal of the Agricultural Horse- Green-Bag gentlemen made in

good as long as their tenants con- off, and unless there be a great tinue to pay rents out of their alteration as to the tithes, at the capital; and, though they may same time. There will, after all see, that this cannot last long, it that we have seen, be knaves to is not by any means certain that tell you, that such a thing could they do see it; and, if they do, not be done without creating the motive for them to stir against "uproar and confusion." These a system that they so dearly love, crafty knaves delight in alarms. is not strong enough, as long as Their great game is to work on the very best, nothing, in this way, have been long listened to, and is to be expected from the land- the consequences are now before lords in general, until you be com- us. If they could persuade you, pletely ruined: and this I beg of that, if you did not pay taxes freely, the French would come and "take from you the blessed One of two things is, therefore, comforts of religion," what could absolutely necessary to you: ob- they not do? To be sure, the tain reform, or cut and run. Be task of persuasion is harder now not deceived by any talk about that your pockets are pretty nearly empty.

What uproar and confusion TIAN CURWEN, look upon the re- much from first to last as the

be made by all the measures now passing of one single Act of Parliament; that would bring a new and reformed parliament together, and that parliament would settle the whole matter in a week. Uproar and confusion, indeed! And, for what? All is now, indeed, uproar and confusion; and such it has been, in a greater or less degree, for many years past. We are wasting away, as a nation: all other nations are rising above us: we are the laughing-stock of the world: and, in more than four-fifths of the families in the country, there exists real want, or a dread of real want. Except amongst those ries of the English farmer, and who live on the taxes, all is mi-

one single week. The Parliament | sery, actual bodily suffering, or would want no soldiers to guard apprehension of such suffering. them, while adopting the mea- Is there a parish in the kingdom, sures that would preserve you. where the labourers are not al-They would want no Cotton-Gar- most ready to burst forth into open den works. The arrival of the violence? Where is the part of Italian wretches at Dover made the country which does not see more noise in England than would them assembling in bands to demand, or beg for, food? necessary to put every thing to other day, at Weyhill Fair, there rights. There would need but the was a sort of general shout of execration from the labourers on the farmers. Are they not, by the attempts to get out of them the means of paying rents, driven to a state bordering on desperation? Do we not see, what England never saw before, endless accounts of fires imputed to incendiaries? Is there scarcely any one English farmer, who can say that he lays his head down at night free from apprehension? With the greedy distrainer on one side and the starving labourer on the other, what, short of the devil's inflictions upon J_{2b} , can surpass the misethat, too, at the end of a war,

tranquillity, and prosperity!

confusion. seen yet. But, if we saw nothing more, how are even the present evils to be augmented by any change in the Parliament? What is there to do but to pass acts to to insure to the labouring millions an adequate quantity of food and raiment? And, would such measures lead to confusion and uproar? On the contrary, they would insure order and happiness. To propose such measures is the province of any man of capacity sufficient to make a plain statement. If I did not propose them before the end of the third day of my being in Parliament, 1 would give the Speaker liberty to have me tossed out of the window, into the Thames, on the fourth.

which was to insure him safety, other new man. Mr. BROUGHAM; nay, Mr. CANNING; any man Let not the knaves frighten you, able to digest and to state the then, with a talk of uproar and thing, and to detect and drive Before this present away the sophistry that might be winter is over, we shall see a little opposed to it; any such man may of the effects of the Pitt-system; do the thing any day, if there be a little more than what we have a reformed Parliament; and without that, no man can do it.

I am much more than half convinced, that what I have here said will produce very little effect upon you. I am well aware, that preserve people's property, and you are nearly as much deluded as ever; that you still have hopes of a return of high prices; that you cannot endure the thought that farmers are to be again a plain set of people, and to have no sons and daughters at boarding-school; that you would almost as lief die as be what your grandfathers were. I am well aware of this; and I know well, that he who gives advice such as I give, he who calls upon men to act a part that even looks like public spirited, is pretty certain to meet with reproach instead of But, it does not need me, or any thanks; but, while I do not merit

a view to your benefit,

I remain,

Your friend,

WM. COBBETT.

RUSTIC HARANGUE AT ANDOVER.

[From the "STATESMAN," of Oct. 14.]

> Andover, Sunday, Oct. 13, 1822.

the latter, I shall not fear the Mr. Cobbett's health was given former, and it is your and not my by the Chairman, Mr. John ruin that will be the result; and KNOWLES, of Farnham, in Surmy firm belief is, that thousands rey; but before this, the company upon thousands of you will live to had received a great augmentation be labourers to those who are now of numbers from the dinner tables labourers to you. In the hope, at the other inns. The dining however, that there may be some takes place at a late hour, at Axof you that will profit from this DOVER, during Weyhill Fair, bewhich has been written solely with cause the parties who dine, and who come from almost all the Western, Southern, and Midland counties, are engaged in business. on the Hill, which is three miles off, until the day has closed. Before Mr. Cobbett's health was given, so many gentlemen had arrived from the other inns, that it was impossible for them all to get admittance into the room, which had the advantage of being on the ground floor, but which was by no means capacious. The door being, however, thrown open, at the request of the Chairman, YESTERDAY evening Mr. Cob- the room, as well as the passage BETT dined at the White Hart Inn, leading to it, were filled even to with between forty and fifty far- pressing. It became so hot, that mers, hop-planters and others. it was absolutely necessary to open After the cloth was removed, the street-window, the shutters

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of which the landlord had had to | toast, and in which you have refasten to with great care, possibly ceived the proposition, is a proof, from a renewal of those feelings, that the course which I have so which were, a few years back, long pursued, has been not only inspired by those dreadful mea- the course of utility to my counsures, Sidmouth's Circular, the try, as the Chairman in proposing Power of Imprisonment Bill, the my health has been so good as to Manchester Affair, and the Six- observe; but that it has also been, Acts. The window having been with regard to myself, the course opened, and air having been ob- of prudence. It will not be doubttained, Mr. Cobbett got upon ed by almost any one, that, if I the table, and addressed to the had pursued an opposite course I company a rustic harangue, of might have been wallowing in which the following is a sketch: ease and luxury, and loaded with " Gentlemen, I can, by no riches. But, Gentlemen, what means think of gratifying my own are these worth, of what value desire to address you at any are they, when compared to these length, seeing the very inconve- unequivocal marks of approbation, nient and painful position, in which these sincere tokens of respect. you are placed by want of room; from you, who, coming from aland for which inconvenience and most every part of the kingdom, pain I am but too well satisfied have now bestowed upon me nothing that I am able to submit There is nothing, in my estimato you can be by any means an tion, or in the estimation of any adequate compensation. [The man worthy of the name of man; company having desired him to there is nothing which ministers proceed, saying that they were or kings can bestow equal to this. very well situated,] Gentlemen, Mine, therefore, has been the the manner in which my health course of strict prudence, as well has been proposed to you as a as the course of integrity and hopart of your time in speaking of dom, who did not afford encoumyself; but bare justice to others ragement to some officious knave engaged in the same cause, calls to harass and to persecute every on me to remind you of the sufferings in person as well as in pocket, which many of us have undergone, and I, in particular, for having promulgated opinions, which all the world now acknowledges to be true and just: for having tendered advice, which if it had been followed in time, would have prevented all those calamities, the existence of which the Government itself must now most bitterly deplore.—Gentlemen, I am satisfied, that millions, nay, that many miltions of your money, have, in one cay, and, in fact, who are now shape and another, been employed, first and last, for the preventing of the effect of those meetings, which are now getting into such description of these calamities; vogue, and the truth of which is now acknowledged, without hesitation, by all but the very foolish or the very wicked. Had it been to prevent the spread of pestilence or famine, greater exertions could not have been made than were made to prevent the circulation of those writings. Every creature in authority, from almost the very the earth.

I do not like to waste any dirty little corporation in the kingone who had spirit and honesty enough to endeavour to circulate these writings. You know well, Gentlemen, how many families of farmers, tradesmen, and all connected with agriculture; how many of these families, the heads of which thought they could promise themselves prosperous days, and who saw the means of leaving happy families behind them; you know well how many such families have already fallen into a state of embarrassment and deupon the very point of entering the workhouse. I will not, therefore, detain you by any particular but, just cautioning you against being again misled by an outcry against what has been called disaffection, I will now give, as the best return that I can make you, for the compliment that you have paid me, not vain and senseless flattery, which would be as unworthy of you as it would be unbecoming in me, but my plain highest down to the very lowest, opinions as to the real dangers seemed at one time, to have no that now menace you, and the other business upon the face of false hopes that many of you still There was scarcely a appear to entertain.—The great questions at present are, whether | will be there, unless we draw in way or the other, and, if they change, whether they will rise or fall. My opinion is that they will change, and that they will not rise; but will fall, and, probably, to a point much lower than they are at now. Dry as this before dwelt on it in various forms and places, the importance of it is such that I cannot refrain from pressing it on your attention. It appears to me clear as the sun at noonday, that, when Mr. PEEL's quantity of gold in the country must be augmented.—Every thing I see and hear convinces me of this. The gold which will be necessary to make that augmentation, must come from abroad; must come from other nations; that being the case, there must be drawn in from circulation a quantity of our paper greater than the quantity of the gold which is put out; because, if this be not the case, the price of gold, which you will please to observe will have been raised in price in other nations by our drawing gold from those nations; the price of gold, which will, as I have just said, have been raised in foreign na-

prices of produce will change one paper in a greater quantity than we put out gold. The conclusion, the inevitable conclusion from this is, that there must be a diminution of our circulating medium taken as a whole, or that the gold will leave the country, in order to go to those nations where it bears subject is, and often as I have a higher price. - Such are the reasons on which I found my opinion. I offer them to men of sound understandings, bound to me by no tie other than that of a mutual wish to arrive at the truth. These opinions I have often stated. I Bill goes into full effect, the have frequently seen writers and speakers having a wish to controul them and to shew their fallacy, but, with all the desire that a man can possess not to deceive himself, and with all possible patience in examining those attempts at refutation, I have never yet been able to discover any thing to make me doubt of the correctness of the conclusion which I have just had the honour to submit to you. If, then, this conclusion be correct; if the quantity of circulating medium, as a whole, be diminished, prices must fall; and it is not very easy to say, not very easy to mark out, either their progress or the point of depression at which they will rest. What, then, must be tions, will be lower here, than it the lot of the farmer who shall

they were in the year 1790, and, influenced more or less by their lower than those of 1790, possibly pay rent three times as high you will observe, Gentlemen, that as in 1790? Gentlemen, one ground of the false hopes of the farmers is this, that the landlords do not seem to see any very great and immediate danger. Now, I do not accuse landlords of roguishness; I do not accuse them of a settled design to beggar their tenants, but they have false hopes, too, and this I should tell them if they were present instead of those who were probably far the greater part, tenants. I should tell them that they have been deceived and been deluded; and this I should have a right to tell them, seeing that the whole nation would be ready to acknowledge that, at any rate, my opinion is worth as much as theirs. I should have a right to say to them, that having experience as a sanction for so many opinions of my own, my opinions are now entitled to attention.

continue to hold a farm on an ex- When I say this, however, I can pectation of a rise of prices? Is it with perfect sincerity add, that I possible (with all the present say it in order to strengthen that taxes existing) for any man to pay which I deem serviceable to my any rent at all out of the produce country, and I say it not with any of any farm in the kingdom? The view of taking particular merit to present rents are, however, three myself. - Gentlemen, the landtimes as great upon an average as lords, who, like all other men, are leaving taxes and rates out of the interests, now say to the despondquestion, can a man, with prices ing tenant, " go on: pay what you can." This is very well; but paying what you can is paying your all! The landlord says, "go " on: we shall see whether times " will mend." The tenant goes on, but he gets no receipt in full; he sees no lease flung into the fire; he goes on, paying what he can; pound after pound is drawn from him: and, when the landlord sees, that he can give him nothing more in the shape of payment, he comes with a distraint and souses down upon him his wife and his children, like a kite upon a brood of helpless chickens in his yard!—Gentlemen, I wish this were a flight of fancy. Thousands upon thousands of examples of the real literal truth of it are now to be seen in this once happy country.—It is said that experience makes fools wise; and it is, probably, because farmers are in general not fools, that experience has not made them wise who now continue to give away their calling their tenants together; reducing their rents as it is called, whence have proceeded puffs for the newspapers. We have heard of their pompous declarations about sinking or swimming with their tenants. One, more pompous than the rest, has made a sort of public manifesto, describing the connexion between him and his tenants as being like that between the several links of a chain; "We are all," said he, " links of the same chain; if one "link break, the chain is de-" stroyed, and all the blessings of " our happy state of society are at " an end." Gentlemen, this is a figure of rhetoric, as they call it, and figures of rhetoric are of much too flimsy a texture for men to rely on in cases of pecuniary compacts; and it accordingly so happens, that this Gentleman of the "chain" has lately, in spite of his doctrines of indissoluble connexion, knocked six links out of the chain by coming with the thumpings of a distraint upon six of his tenants (in Essex.) Be, therefore, Gentlemen, upon your guard. If you must quit the land,

We have heard enough of the their capital till they have none flummery of some landlords; of left, will have nobody to thank but themselves.—Gentlemen, one of the grounds of the false hopes to which I have alluded, is, that the "Government must do something." There is no must in the case; the word is can, and the question is, " can the Govern-"ment do any thing to raise " prices?" The Government, though very strong; though it can stop the circulation of pamphlets; though it can pass laws to regulate the size of the paper upon which pamphlets are to be printed, describing with anxious minuteness the length and width of each sheet; though it can fix the number of sheets; and the exact price of the pamphlet to a farthing; though it can do these. things, and though it can watchover the well-being of wild animals with such care as to prevent an unnecessary assault upon a partridge or disturbance of a hare, though it can do these things, it has not the power to raise the price of a South-Down ewe, nor to preserve the farmer and his family from pauperism; that is to say, unless it adopt those very measures which it has persecuted quit it with something in your me for having so long recompockets; but at any rate, those mended. What are the real views

of the Government at present, we in this case, there is a cause may probably gather from the opinions lately expressed at Liverpool by the new minister, Mr. Canning. Mr. Canning is a very clever man; he is a great deal better talker than I am. Certain as I am that I have truth and reason on my side, I should be very sorry to see him here ready to get upon this table to answer me; for he can out-talk me all to nothing. But clever as Mr. Can-NING is, he is not clever enough to get the Government out of the scrape into which he has mainly assisted to get it. The remedy which Mr. Canning has is patience, and patience alone. Patience is a very good remedy, when a mere attendance upon time will effect the cure. seems to have thought that this was the nature of your situation; and here is the foundation of his error. When the evil is temporary, patience may be the remedy; for the effects of bad seasons, such as would produce a short crop of hops at Farnham, for instance, patience would be the remedy and the only remedy. An evil like that of a sore leg, or any other ailment, in the cure of which time is the principal doctor, we may reasonably appeal to men's patience. But

regularly at work to make the situation of the farmer, and of all connected with the land, worse and worse, until complete ruin shall envelope the whole. Therefore, clever as Mr. Can-NING is, large as is his present share of power, and good as his wishes may possibly be, what have we to expect from him in this present state of our affairs? It is extremely painful to me to continue to address you, inconveniently as you are situated in this room; but I cannot refrain from requesting you to permit me to occupy a few moments of your time in offering you my advice. In the first place, I would advise every farmer to take care to provide himself, almost at any sacrifice, with some gold, being thoroughly convinced, that a hundred pounds in gold, will, in two years from this day, purchase three times as much land as it now will. -This opinion is not at all dependent upon any measures of the Government; if it were, I should offer it conditionally. Let Peel's Bill remain or let it be swept away; let the taxes and funds remain or let them be reduced; let what will happen, the price of land (in gold payments, mind) must come down to the

prices of 1790 or lower. The land.-Recollect, if you please, price of land must bear an exact however, that I am here speaking proportion to the price of the pro- of purchases to be made in gold; duce of the land. case at present. It does not bear that we behold, that nothing else that proportion now.—WHY does can have a stable value in this it not? I beg you, Gentlemen, to country at this time. Any confavour me with your attention tract that you may make, whether while I answer this question .- of bond, annuity, mortgage, funds, When land is to be sold, the rental or any thing else, may be affected is stated.—The present rental is by the acts of the Government, merely nominal. A farm that which has the power of making now lets for a certain sum per paper pass for money. All these annum, is not worth the thirty belong to our own domestic conyears purchase of that sum; be- cerns. They are confined to ourcause the rent is paid out of capital, and not out of produce. If make to-day, may possibly be-I rent a farm for three hundred come of a tenth part of its value pounds a-year, the farm will sell, probably, for six thousand pounds; is not to be affected by any thing but if I am losing two hundred that our Government can do. a-year by renting it, is it not clear value bears the stamp of the conthat the farm is worth only two current tacit convention of all thousand pounds? At this moment, and especially to a person the farm will sell for six thousand pounds; but I must be ruined shortly, and when I am ruined, there will not come another in my place to lose two hundred pounds to the price of the produce of the I should be that deceiver which

This is not the for, it is clear from every thing selves. A mortgage which I may to-morrow. But the value of gold nations in the world; this value cannot be changed, therefore, by who does not take time to reflect, any acts of our Government: it is sure as the earth on which we tread, and is, at this time, the only really solid possession. Get, therefore, some gold; and keep it if you can .- Gentlemen, a-year; and down comes the farm I hasten to relieve you from the to its proper price: to the price inconvenience of your situation, which reason, and which all the by expressing in conclusion my experience of mankind fixes upon sincere wish for your restoration it, namely, a price proportioned to prosperity and happiness; but have so often been represented to trious classes to the earth. Genbe, if I were to hold out any hopes of seeing a fulfilment of me, are the persons to effect that this wish, unless there be a reform of the Parliament. The Bishop of this diocese has lately published a charge to his clergy, in which piness in England. If you will his Lordship has thought proper to observe, that their efforts ought to be directed to the keeping down of sedition and blasphemy. With all due submission to so high and venerable an authority, I venture to question whether the farmers, war, as you were in the support who, the other day, sold their ewes at twelve shillings and sixpence apiece, while their rent and taxes were upon a scale of ewes at forty shillings apiece; I venture to question, Gentlemen, whether those farmers find sedition and blasphemy to be the greatest danger of the times, and the greatest evils against which they have to contend. I will venture further to state, Gentlemen, that a reformed Parliament would turn its attention much less to the means of suppressing sedition and blasphemy, which have really no existence in the country, than to devising just and equitable means of causing the immense mass of property possessed by the church to contribute towards the alleviation of the burdens which now press all the indus-

tlemen, you who now stand before grand measure of Reform without which there cannot, in my opinion, ever again be harmony and hapcome forth, not with your horses and your swords, but with your lawful and constitutional applications and petitions; if you will be as zealous in your endeavours to remove the evils created by the of that war, we shall have that Reform which will be the safeguard of us all. But the worst of it is, men are more slow to move in cases where the whole community is to benefit by their exertions, than they are in cases where they think they are in pursuit of their own immediate interest. theless, let me indulge the hope that you will now do your duty with as much zeal as you did what you were deluded to believe to be your duty before; and if you do this, be you assured, that, as you now suffer more in proportion than the other classes of society, the benefit of the change will be enjoyed by you in a greater proportion. In thanking you once more for the honour you have done me, I must at the same time express the satisfaction I derive

from reflecting, that, if my country be steeped in misery, not a single man in it can say he owes any part of that misery to me."

After this, the Chairman gave as a Toast, "Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament," which was drank with great enthusiasm. Mr. Cobbett then proposed the health of "Mr. "FAWKES, who is now labouring "to bring forth the great county "of York in a legal and regular "manner in the cause of Reform."—He eulogised the talents, the character and the efforts of that

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gentleman, and his health was drunk with every mark of esteem and gratitude. Mr. Cobbett advised the gentlemen present to use their best efforts in their several counties, in order that petitions from the yeomanry in every part of the kingdom might meet the Parliament at its next assembling.

THE

COLLECTIVE COMMEN-TARIES

will be published next Week.

MARKETS.

Average Price of CORN throughout England, for the week ending 12th October.

Per Quarter.	
8.	d.
Wheat40	5
Rye20	0
Barley27	0
Oats18	0
Beans24	11

At MARK LANE (same week). Per Quarter.

		8.
Wheat	.40	to 44
Rye	.18	- 22
Barley		
Oats		
Beans	.20	- 26
Pease		

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Oct. 14th.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

			-			
			s.	d.	s.	d.
	Beef		 2	8 to	3	6
¢	Mutton	١	 2	8 -	- 3	0
	Veal					
	Pork		 2	8 -	- 3	8
-	Lamb					

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	_			
	S.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	 1	4 1	0 2	8
Mutton	 1	8 -	- 2	8
Veal	 2	0 -	- 3	8
Pork	 2	0 -	- 3	8
Lamb	 2	4 -	- 3	4

City, 16. Oct.

BACON.

This article usually gets very dull at this season of the year; and in such weather as the present it is dull at any season of the year; accordingly there is now very little

demand for it.—Sizeable, of best quality, 26s. to 28s.—Heavy, 23s. to 24s.

BUTTER.

The speculators are again at work, and have brought prices back to about what they were a fortnight ago. The operations of the gentleman who bought so largely, and whose credit and means are unbounded, have induced many to follow his example; but as these proceedings are considered by the respectable Cheesemongers as an encroachment on their rights and privileges (they having had the exclusive command of the Irish trade, since the destruction of those who were called merchants, about seven or eight years ago), they will take the first opportunity to manifest their resentment against the speculators; and one of the ways in which they will do it, will be by buying every thing they possibly can through other channels. Those only who have witnessed it, can form an adequate opinion of their power in this way, when they are all moved by the same impulse. It is agreed on all hands that the speculation is a very bold one.— Carlow, 83s. to 84s.—Belfast, 81s. to 82s.—Dublin, 78s. to 80s.—Waterford, 76s. to 78s.—Limerick, 76s. -Cork, 76s. 98s. to 100s.

CHEESE

Is dull; and those who have given advanced prices in the country, will, probably, repent of it.—Old Cheshire, 60s. to 74s.; New, 46s. to 54s.—Coloured Derby, 46s. to 50s.; Pale, 45s. to 48s.—Double Gloucester, 46s. to 50s.; Single, 42s. to 46s.; Middling, 36s. to 40s.

LARD

Is scarce, and much sought after, at 65s. per cwt.